

Message Text

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DEPT FOR UNDERSECRETARY BENSON(T) AND MCCLELLAND (OES)

PASS TO UZNANAKI, NSF

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SUBJECT: REVIEW ON U.S.-ITALY AGREEMENT OF S AND T COOPERATION

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1. SUMMARY: NSF DEPUTY DIRECTOR PIMENTEL AND ACCOMPANYING STAFF UZNANASKI AND AVERCH HELD TALKS ON THE SUBJECT REVIEW DURING JUNE 5 AND 6 WITH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MFA), NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL (CNR) AND MINISTRY OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH (MSR) OFFICIALS, ASSCHEDULED REFTEL A. THE U.S. CLEARLY EXPRESSED ITS DESIRE FOR A FIRST REVIEW MEETING (PREFERABLY TO BE HELD IN WASHINGTON FOR TWO DAYS IN THE WEEK OF JANUARY 8-13, 1978) TO COVER ALL GOVERNMENTAL, BILATERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ENERGY COOPERATION. THE ITALIANS AGREED TO THE TIME AND PLACE OF THE FIRST REVIEW MEETING, BUT THEIR OBJECTIVES DIFFER IN SOME IMPORTANT RESPECTS FROM OURS. CONTINUING EFFORTS WILL BE REQUIRED TO PREPARE FOR A REVIEW THAT FURTHERS U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND TECHNICAL GOALS. END SUMMARY.

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2. THE MISSION BELIEVES THAT U.S. GOALS IN UNDERTAKING THE PROJECTED REVIEW CAN BESUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS: A) BROADEN THE POLITICAL IMPACT WITHIN ITALY OF PRESENT S AND T COOPERATION; B) RAISE THE QUALITY OF FUTURE EFFORTS. THE REVIEW WILL CLEARLY BE USEFUL IN POLICY DECISIONS ON THE RENEWAL OF THE S AND T AGREEMENT IN MID-1980, BUT THE MISSION WOULD SUGGEST THAT THERE WILL ALSO BE OTHER INGREDIENTS TO DECIDING HOW THE U.S.G. APPROACHES

THE ISSUES CONCERNING RENEWAL.

3. ASSUMING FOR THE MOMENT THAT THESE GOALS ARE ACCEPTABLE, WE WOULD LIKE TO COMMENT ON WHAT WE PERCEIVE TO BE THE ITALIAN GOALS AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH CONFLICTS MAY ARISE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES DURING THE REVIEW PROCESS. THE THREE ITALIAN GOVERNMENTAL BODIES VISITED HAD NOT DEVELOPED A COMMON POSITION PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF JUNE, BUT EACH WELCOMES THE PROSPECT OF A REVIEW OF THE S AND T AGREEMENT FOR ITS OWN REASONS. IN OUR VIEW, THE MFA WOULD LIKE TO GAIN GREATER CONTROL OVER BILATERAL S AND T COOPERATION; THE CNR WOULD LIKE TO EXPAND THE COOPERATION AND TARGET IT MORE EFFECTIVELY TO ITALIAN NATIONAL NEEDS; AND THE MSR WOULD LIKE TO SEE A BROADER POLITICAL IMPACT.

4. BEGINNING WITH THE MFA, CULTURAL AFFAIRS DIRECTOR GENERAL ROMANO MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE FELT THE MFA SHOULD PLAY A STRONGER ROLE IN COORDINATING S AND T COOPERATION. HIS JUSTIFICATION WAS QTE AVOIDING DUPLICATION UNQTE. BOTH IN THE MEETING WITH PIMENTEL AND IN A SUBSEQUENT PHONE CALL TO SCIATT, ROMANO GAVE THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE NOT ONLY A REVIEW OF BILATERAL COOPERATION, BUT ALSO MORE CENTRALIZED CONTROL BY THE MFA BEFORE RESEARCH IS APPROVED BY TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON EITHER SIDE. PRIVATE INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE REVIEW IN ROMANO'S VIEW. HIS SPECIFIC REQUEST, HOWEVER, WAS ONLY FOR AN ITEM ON THE AGENDA OF THE JANUARY MEETING THAT REFERRED TO QTE INFORMATION UNQTE. THE U.S. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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VISITORS AGREED THAT THERE MIGHT WELL BE REASON TO HAVE IN JANUARY A DISCUSSION OF WHAT QTE INFORMATION UNQTE MEANT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE BILATERAL S AND T AGREEMENT. THE U.S. SIDE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT PRIVATE, NON-GOVERNMENTAL EFFORTS WERE DEFINITELY NOT INCLUDED IN THE CURRENT S AND T AGREEMENT, AND THAT FORMAL INDUSTRY PARTICIPATION IN JANUARY WOULD BE PROBLEMATIC.

5. ROMANO'S BID FOR A STRONGER MFA ROLE MAY WELL LEAD TO CONFLICT WITH THE U.S. IN THE FUTURE. ALTHOUGH THE MISSION FEELS THAT PERIODIC GOVERNMENT-WIDE REVIEW OF S AND T COOPERATION WITH MFA AND STATE DEPARTMENT PARTICIPATION IS HIGHLY DESIRABLE, WE DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE THAT EITHER OF THE OBJECTIVES STATED IN PARA 2 ABOVE REQUIRES THAT THERE BE CENTRALIZED PRIOR APPROVAL OR DIRECTION OF S AND T COOPERATION. WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT IN THE PREPARATION FOR THE JANUARY MEETING THE U.S. BE ESPECIALLY WARY OF STRENGTHENING THE HAND OF THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE "DIRIGISTE" PROCEDURES ADOPTED.

6. THE CNR'S DESIRE FOR EXPANSION AND TARGETTING OF THE S AND T COOPERATION RAISES A NUMBER OF POTENTIAL PROBLEMS. AS PIMENTEL REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED DURING THIS VISIT, NSF AND THE OTHER TECHNICAL AGENCIES WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION IN JANUARY TO COMMIT

THEMSELVES TO EXPANSION. IN ADDITION, AS PIMENTEL ALSO EMPHASIZED, EXPANSION DEPENDS ON FINDING COOPERATIVE PROJECTS OF HIGH TECHNICAL MERIT. TARGETTING RAISES SIMILAR ISSUES TO ROMANO'S DESIRE FOR GREATER COORDINATION, BUT IT WAS AGREED THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE TARGETTING OF THE S AND T COOPERATION ON SPECIFIC PRIORITY AREAS WOULD BE DISCUSSED IN JANUARY. IN THIS CONNECTION IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE CNR SEEMS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN TWO AREAS: BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH AND AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH, THE LATTER OF WHICH IS VERY SPARSELY REPRESENTED IN THE CURRENT S AND T COOPERATION.

7. AS FOR THE MSR'S DESIRE FOR A GREATER POLITICAL IMPACT FROM S AND T COOPERATION, THIS GOAL CLEARLY COINCIDES WITH WHAT WE HAVE PROPOSED AS U.S. GOALS IN PARA 2. IN PARTICULAR, SCIATT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AGREED STRONGLY WITH UNDERSECRETARY POSTAL'S STATEMENT THAT S AND T COOPERATION PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN MAINTAINING ITALY'S QTE WESTERN ORIENTATION UNQTE. POSTAL NOTED WITH SOME FORCE THAT QTE OTHER COUNTRIES UNQTE WERE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE U.S. IN DERIVING A BROAD POLITICAL IMPACT FROM S AND T COOPERATION, AND THAT THE U.S. WAS MAKING A MISTAKE TO ALLOW SUCH COOPERATION TO HAVE AN IMPACT ONLY AT THE LEVEL OF INDIVIDUALS. COMMENT: POSTAL'S COMMENTS ARISE AT LEAST IN PART FROM THE EXTENSIVE EFFORTS THAT THE USSR MAKES TO ENSURE A BROAD IMPACT FROM ITS S AND T COOPERATION WITH ITALY. THE RUSSIANS HAVE NATIONAL BILATERAL COMMITTEE THAT MEETS REGULARLY AND INSTITUTIONALIZES, TO A DEGREE FAR BEYOND WHAT WE WOULD EVER WANT, THE BILATERAL S AND T CONTACTS. ALTHOUGH FEW IN ITALY IMAGINE THAT COOPERATION IN S AND T WITH THE USSR IS VERY FRUITFUL, THE COMMITTEE DRAWS THE ATTENTION AND PARTICIPATION OF RELATIVELY HIGH-LEVEL ITALIAN POLITICIANS, BUREAUCRATS AND INDUSTRIALISTS FROM ALL POLITICAL PARTIES. END COMMENT.

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DEPT FOR UNDERSECRETARY BENSON (T) AND MCCLELLAND (OES)

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8. WHILE THE MISSION AGREES WITH POSTAL'S OVERALL GOAL, CONFLICTS MAY NEVERTHELESS ARISE OVER THE ISSUE OF HOW TO ACHIEVE A BROADER POLITICAL IMPACT. UNDERSECRETARY POSTAL MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE CAREFUL CHOICE BY THE U.S. OF QTE INTERLOCUTORS UNQTE AND A BETTER QTE CHANNELLING UNQTE OF OUR RESOURCES. PART OF POSTAL'S CONCERN WAS CLEARLY WITH THE POLITICAL VIEWS OF ITALIAN SCIENTISTS INVOLVED IN BILATERAL S AND T COOPERATION. SCIATT MADE IT CLEAR THAT ALTHOUGH WE WANT TO SEE A BROADER POLITICAL IMPACT OF OUR S AND T COOPERATION, TECHNICAL COMPETENCE WAS OUR PRIMARY CONCERN IN CHOOSING PROJECTS AND PARTICIPANTS. COMMENT: THERE IS CONTINUING TENSION IN ITALIAN SCIENCE BETWEEN MERITOCRATIC PROCEDURES AND THE DEMANDS OF PARTY POLITICS. EXCEPT IN THE MOST EXTREME CASES, THE MISSION CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT U.S. INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY MERIT SELECTION OF COOPERATIVE S AND T PROJECTS. WE SHALL THEREFORE CONTINUE TO SUGGEST THAT HIGH-LEVEL U.S. VISITORS EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S. OF TECHNICAL QUALITY AND PEER REVIEW PROCESSES, AS PIMENTEL AND ALSO HEW SECRETARY CALIFANO HAVE RECENTLY DONE. END COMMENT.

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9. NONE OF THE POTENTIAL CONFLICTS CITED ABOVE PRESENT ANY INSURMOUNTABLE PROBLEMS, AND THE MISSION RECOMMENDS STRONGLY THAT WE PROCEED ALONG THE LINES OF REFTEL C. WE SUMMARIZE HERE OUR VIEWS OF HOW THE PROJECTED REVIEW CAN BEST BE MADE TO SERVE U.S. INTERESTS.

A. WE WOULD RECOMMEND SENDING A FORMAL INVITATION TO THE ITALIANS ALONG THE LINES OF THE DRAFT NOTE BELOW.

B. WE BELIEVE THE USG SHOULD PREPARE FOR THE JANUARY MEETING AN INVENTORY OF COOPERATIVE PROJECTS ACTIVE NOW OR DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS AS WELL AS AN INVENTORY OF THE PROCEDURES USG AGENCIES USE IN DECIDING WHETHER TO SUPPORT PROPOSED PROJECTS. PIMENTEL HAS INDICATED NSF'S WILLINGNESS TO PREPARE THESE INVENTORIES, BUT WE BELIEVE THE STATE DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ASSIST NSF, ESPECIALLY IN OBTAINING COOPERATION FROM THE

U.S. TECHNICAL AGENCIES.

C. THE MISSION WILL ENLARGE PUBLIC INFORMATION ACTIVITIES ABOUT THE S AND T COOPERATION, INCLUDING A SPEECH ON HEALTH CO-OPERATION BY THE DCM THIS MONTH IN SARDINIA AND A SPEECH ON THE OVERALL S AND T COOPERATION BY THE AMBASSADOR AT THE CNR NEXT FALL.

D. THE MISSION HAS SUGGESTED TO THE ITALIANS THAT MINISTER OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ANTONIOZZI, WHO IS NOW PLANNING TO VISIT THE U.S. IN SEPTEMBER RATHER THAN THIS MONTH (ROME 8801), MIGHT INSTEAD CONSIDER GOING TO WASHINGTON TO OPEN THE JANUARY MEETING.

E. THE JANUARY MEETING SHOULD HAVE ON ITS AGENDA A PROPOSAL FOR CONDUCTING AN IN-DEPTH REVIEW OF THE AGREEMENT TO BE CARRIED OUT DURING 1979 BOTH BY POLLING PARTICIPATING SCIENTISTS (AS IN THE NATIONAL ACADEMY REVIEW OF THE USSR BILATERAL) AND BY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TECHNICAL REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH PRODUCTS FROM THE COOPERATION.

10. THE QUESTION OF WHO WILL LEAD THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE JANUARY REVIEW WILL REQUIRE SOME CAREFUL ATTENTION. WITH THE MEETING IN WASHINGTON, THE MISSION BELIEVES THAT THE IMPACT IN ITALY WOULD BE GREATEST IF THE MINISTER OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WERE TO LEAD THE ITALIAN DELEGATION. THERE WILL, HOWEVER, BE RESISTANCE TO THIS NOTION BOTH AT THE MFA AND AT THE CNR, EACH OF WHICH WOULD LIKE TO HEAD THE DELEGATION. THE BEST WAY FOR THE U.S. TO INFLUENCE THE ITALIAN DECISION WOULD BE TO INDICATE OUR INTENTION TO HAVE A CABINET-LEVEL OFFICIAL, PERHAPS SCIENCE ADVISER PRESS, OR POSSIBLY SECRETARY CALIFANO, LEAD OUR DELEGATION IF THE ITALIANS WILL NAME AN OFFICIAL OF COMPARABLE RANK. IN PRACTICE, WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT NOT MORE THAN BRIEF STATEMENTS BY THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS WOULD BE REQUIRED.

11. THERE FOLLOWS A DRAFT TEXT OF THE FORMAL INVITATION (NOTE VERBALE) TO THE JANUARY REVIEW MEETING:

. . . . AND HAS THE HONOR TO INFORM THE MINISTRY THAT THE USG WOULD LIKE TO INVITE THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY TO MEET TO REVIEW BILATERAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COOPERATION, AS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE 10 OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY OF S AND T COOPERATION. THE USG WOULD PREFER THAT THIS MEETING TAKE PLACE IN WASHINGTON DURING THE PERIOD OF JANUARY 8-13, 1979 FOR TWO DAYS DURATION.

THIS FIRST REVIEW OF OUR BILATERAL S AND T ACTIVITIES WOULD COVER ALL GOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, WHICH IS ALREADY UNDER ACTIVE DISCUSSION IN OUR BILATERAL ENERGY WORKING

GROUP. THE USG WOULD PREPARE FOR THIS MEETING AN INVENTORY OF BILATERAL, GOVERNMENTAL S AND T PROJECTS AS WELL AS A DESCRIPTION OF HOW PROJECTS ARE RECEIVED, EVALUATED AND APPROVED BY THE VARIOUS AGENCIES OF THE USG.

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THE USG WOULD PROPOSE FOR THE MEETING IN JANUARY THE FOLLOWING AGENDA:

A) OPENING OF MEETING: STATEMENTS BY THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS;

B) REVIEW OF CURRENT PROJECTS AND PROCEDURES;

C) POSSIBLE MEANS OF IMPROVING COOPERATION

I) INCREASING THE FLOW OF INFORMATION

II) TARGETTING SPECIFIC RESEARCH AREAS

III) IN-DEPTH STUDY OF COOPERATIVE PROJECTS;

D) OTHER BUSINESS;

E) CLOSE OF MEETING.GARDNER

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